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B R I T O N S ,

Awake, and Look about you;

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R U I N the I N E V I T A B L E
C O N S E Q U E N C E of a
L A N D - W A R , &c.

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BRITONS
Awake, and Look about you;
OR,
RUIN
THE
INEVITABLE CONSEQUENCE
OF A
LAND-WAR,
Whether SUCCESSFUL, or NOT.

Humbly recommended to the serious
Consideration of ALL *True Britons.*

By a LOVER of his Country.

*O Navis! referent in Mare Te novi
Fluctus; O quid agis! fortiter occupa
Portum; nonne vides ut
Nudum Remigio Latus,
Et Malus, celeri saucius Africa,
Autennæque gemant?— HOR. Car. L. I. Ode XIV.*

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BRITONS Awake, and Look about you, &c.

AS the War wherein *Great Britain* is at present engaged, on the Continent, in Behalf of the Queen of *Hungary*, engrosses almost all our Attention, and all Conversation; as every Company, and every Coffee-House is full of it, and a Man hears of nothing else, go where he will; as our Countrymen are so very intent thereon, that they stand with *Ears erect*, and *big* with *Expectation*, each Post-Night, *greedily listening* what News from *Germany*, as if they thought the *Welfare*, or *Destruktion* of these Kingdoms, *depended necessarily* upon it; as we are likely, very soon, to be yet more *deeply* involved therein, and may possibly, in a little while, from being *Auxiliaries* to her *Hungarian* *Majesty*, become *Principals* there in ourselves, nay, shall infallibly do so, if the *same Wisdom*, which has governed our *Counsels* of late Years, should still have the *Direction* of them: As this is the *Case*, at present, we say, it may not be amiss, coolly and impartially to consider, what may, in *all Probability*, be the *Consequence* of such a *Conduct*; or rather, what must *inevitably* be the

Fruits of any *Land-War*, without a kind of Miracle.

In so doing, we shall divest ourselves of all Prejudice and Prepossession ; and shall rather avoid setting some Particulars in the strongest Light they will bear, than be guilty of exaggerating them in the least ; we shall likewise take Care, not to advance any Thing, which we are not able to prove incontestably, to the Satisfaction of all those, who are not *wilfully blind*.

In Effect, the *true Interest* of *Great Britain*, is so *very obvious*, to any Person of *Common-Sense*, and *Common-Honesty*, that a Man *must wink hard*, before he can *possibly mistake it* ; and yet there are *some certain People*, whom we *don't expect to convince*, by all the Arguments we can possibly use ; nay, whom we would not undertake to convince, that the *Sun shined*, when in its full *Height*, on the *very brightest Day in June*, (though its Beams scorched every one else around them) if they were provided, with some *weighty Reasons* to the contrary, in their *Pockets*. When we say, we would not undertake to convince them, we mean, not so far as to make them *own* their Conviction ; for otherwise it is impossible, but Men, who have Penetration enough on all other Occasions, should be *inwardly persuaded* of a Truth, which *glares in the Eyes*, of all the Rest of their Fellow-Subjects ; but such is the *Force* of *Self-Interest*, such is the *Depravity* of the Generality of Mankind : To this, we *owe all the Misfortunes*, under which we have *groan'd*, and *languish'd*, for these Twenty Years last past ; and to this, it is to be feared, we shall still *owe many more*.

To prevent this, however, as much as lies in our power, and warn those, whom it may chiefly concern,

concern, what Dangers may reasonably be apprehended, from the present Situation of our Affairs, is the honest Design of the following Sheets ; and if, afterwards, they will run headlong upon their Destruction, though we may ourselves be involved in the general Ruin, together with them, we shall yet have the melancholy Consolation, of having done all, that in us lay, to alarm them, and put them upon their Guard, notwithstanding our Endeavours have prov'd ineffectual.

When a Person has the Misfortune, to be embark'd in a Vessel, which is *cursed* with either an *ignorant* or *knavish Pilot*, who, thro' *Want of Skill*, or which is as bad, *Want of Honesty*, he sees, is running her on a Shoal, where she must *inevitably be wreck'd*, (hoping to secure himself in the Boat) would it not be such a Person's Duty, though he should be but a Passenger, even for Self-Preservation, to warn the Ship's Crew of their Peril ; and to endeavour to spirit them up, to save themselves by *wresting the Helm* out of such *weak* or *wicked Hands* ? Nay, would he not infallibly do so, if he were truly sensible of his own Danger ; unless we could suppose him to be as *stupidly indolent*, as the Man in the Storm, who being told the Vessel was sinking, and desired to help pump, in order to save her, answered very carelessly, *What is it to me, I am but a Passenger* ? We take our Case, at present, not to be very different from this, and therefore are not willing to have it to reproach ourselves, that we acted the same *stupid* and *indolent Part*, with the Wretch before mentioned ; but, to return from whence we have digressed.

That we may be the better able to judge, what must be the probable Consequences of any *Land-*

War, it will be necessary to consider, *First*, What is *the true Interest* of these Kingdoms? *2dly*, In what their *natural and principal Strength* consists? *3dly*. How far their *true Interest* can be *advanced* by a *Land War*? And *4thly*, how far their *natural Strength* is *consulted* and *exerted* in such a War.

To begin, then, with the *first* of these, it will hardly, we believe, be disputed, that as *Great-Britain* is a trading Nation, the *true Interest* of these Kingdoms is, to *advance* and *extend* our *Commerce*, with all *possible Industry* and *Diligence*; and to *cultivate* and *improve* those *natural Advantages*, with which *Providence*, (kinder to us than we deserve,) has *peculiarly blessed us*, as far as they are capable of *Improvement*. This being the *Case*, as undoubtedly it is, nothing can be more evident, than that we ought to *cultivate the Arts of Peace*, by which alone *Trade flourishes*; and that we ought never to *engage in any War*, unless it be in *Defence* of our *just Rights* and *Liberties*, or to prevent a *manifest and otherwise inevitable Danger*; and even in that *Case*, it is demonstrable, we never ought to involve ourselves in a *Land-War*.

That *peaceable Times* only are proper for the *Advancement* and *Extension* of our *Commerce*, is what surely will not be denied, by any *Man* in his *Senses*; it is a *self-evident Axiom* in *Politicks*; but, when we say so, we would not willingly be *misunderstood*. In *Effect*, when we use the *Term Peace*, we do not mean such a one, as we *groan'd under*, for many *Years*, before the *Declaration of War* with the *Spaniards*; when they *insulted* and *barras'd* us, as they pleased, with *Impunity*, whilst our *Hands were ty'd up*, from either *offending them*, or *defending ourselves*. Neither do we mean

mean such a Peace, as leaves any, even the *most distant Pretence*, for *keeping up, at Home, a numerous Body of Land-Forces*; no, such a Peace is rather *more destructive* than a *War*; it has *all its Disadvantages* without any of its *Advantages*. On the contrary, the *Peace* we mean, is such a one, as not only eases the People of the *most burthensome Taxes*, such as those upon *Coals, Candles, Soap, Leather*, and in short, all the *immediate Necessaries of Life*; but admits of the Reduction of our Army at Home, to the same Number, as it consisted of in the Time of *Charles II.* or, if that be thought too severe, as it was in the Reign of *Queen Anne*, even whilst we were engaged, as Principals, in one of the most vigorous and bloody Wars, that ever was known in *Europe*.

We take it then for granted, that we can never *advance and extend our Commerce*, but whilst the Nation *enjoys a solid and lasting Peace*; and this for divers unanswerable Reasons. That we can never do it in a Time of War is indisputable; for so far are we from being able so to do, that we always find it evidently decline; nor is this to be wondered at, when we consider the great *Charge of Convys*, the *tedious Delays* frequently attending them, and the *heavy Taxes almost inseparable* from a State of Hostility: In a Word, it has ever been allowed, that as *Plenty* is the *constant Attendant of Peace*, so *Poverty* is the *never-failing Companion of War*; which proceeds, entirely, from the *certain Stagnation of Trade* under the latter, and its *prosperous and flourishing Condition* under the former.

Nor is it only when the Nation is at open War, that our Trade can neither be *advanced* nor *extended*, it will labour under almost as many Dis-

advantages, nay, in some Respects, under more, whilst we enjoy but a *precarious*, or *nominal Peace*; because, at such Times, *Pretences* will never be wanting, for keeping up a *numerous Body of Land Forces*, besides *considerable naval Armaments*: And as all this cannot be done, without putting the *Publick* to an excessive *Expence*, to defray which, *heavy Duties* must be laid either upon the *Necessaries of Life*, or on *divers Sorts of Commodities*, and perhaps upon *both*; it is evident, the *Manufacturers* will not be able, to afford their respective *Goods* so *cheap*, as when they don't *groan under* such *Burthens*; by this Means, our *Neighbours* will be enabled to *undersell* us at *foreign Markets*, and consequently our *Trade* must inevitably *languish* and *decline*.

Of this melancholy Truth, we have lately had but too undeniable Proofs, for very near Twenty Years, during which we were told, that we enjoy'd a *Peace*, but had never been without a *numerous standing Army*, and *formidable Squadrons at Sea*; tho', for that Time, we heard of nothing but *perpetual Depredations*, and *outrageous Insults*, with *ridiculous and useless*, nay, what is more, *dishonourable, destructive, and fatal Expeditions*: Not to mention *long and unnecessary Embargoes*, with the frequent issuing of *Press-Warrants*, (often *most unwarrantably* put in Execution,) for no other *visible Reason*, but to *distress* the *Merchants*.

As this was necessarily productive of *heavy Duties*, and *most burthensome Taxes*, cou'd it be expected, that *Trade* should any *Ways flourish*, during *such a Peace*? On the contrary, was it at all surprizing, that it should *visibly decline*; or that several *Branches* thereof should be almost *entirely lost*, and that our *wiser Neighbours* should have

have worm'd us out of them ? No, this was what every Man of *Common-Sense* foresaw, but all this could not prevail, on our *honest Premier*, to take *more salutary Measures* ; in Effect, it is a general Rule, which will eternally hold good, at all Times, and in all Nations ; that as a *wise and upright Minister* will always conclude a *lasting Peace*, or *push on a War vigorously*, unless reduced, by the Success of the Enemy, to accept of disadvantageous Conditions ; so a *weak, wicked, and corrupt one*, will be continually patching up *precarious Treaties*, or, if forced into a *War*, will carry it on in a *languid, cowardly and inglorious Manner*. Again, a *Wise Minister* will always endeavour to *ease and unite the People*, as much as possible, whilst a *blundering Profligate*, when at the Helm, will be continually *studying, and contriving, to load and harrass them with intolerable Imposts* ; which he will likewise attempt to have levied, in the *most vexatious and oppressive Manner* ; as this unhappy Nation has more than once experienced, to her Cost.

From what has been premised, we think it demonstrable, that neither a *Time of War*, nor an *unsettled Peace*, can be proper, for the *Advancement or Extension of our Commerce* ; and consequently, that the *true Interest* of these Kingdoms, must *necessarily suffer* during either. It is true it may so fall out, that Things may be brought to such an *unlucky Crisis*, as to render a *War unavoidable*, and even *advisable and eligible*, as happened lately with Regard to *Spain* ; but then, it must be observed, that this is only to *prevent a greater Evil* ; and is almost always the *Consequence, of some previous Mismanagement, and Male-Administration* ; as was likewise the Case with Respect to that *War* ; and will again be, if

we should be soon engaged, in an open Rupture with *France*.

In Effect, it is evident, had we not attack'd the *Spaniards* in the *Mediterranean*, in 1718, or had we afterwards accepted of the *Mediation* between *France* and *Spain*, upon the Difference that happen'd between them, on sending back the *Infanta*, we should have been so far from meeting with the same ill Usage, as we have since experienced from the Court of *Madrid*, that we might aln oft have made our own Terms with them, and have had all imaginable Indulgence, in our Trade to the *West-Indies*.

Again, it is as evident, had we kept a watchful Eye, upon all the Steps of *France*; had we shewn ourselves disposed to act with Vigour, if ever she gave us the least Cause of Complaint; had we declared, upon her first Attempt, to repair the Fortifications, or Port of *Dunkirk*, that we should look upon it as a Breach of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, and take our Measures accordingly; had we guarded well, against her stealing our *Wool*, running in her own *Brandies*, *Teas* and *Cambricks* upon us, or enlisting our Men to recruit her *Irish* Regiments, we should have had no Reason now, to dread her exorbitant Power; nor would she have dared, to behave, as she has of late Years, had not we acted with so much Supineness and Indolence.

Notwithstanding, therefore, it was requisite, about four Years ago, to declare War with *Spain*, and it may be as requisite, very soon, to come to Hostilities with *France*; this will not prove, that it is the true Interest of these Kingdoms, to be at Variance with either of them; but only that we had brought ourselves, by our *blessed Management*, into such a *hopeful Condition*, that it was necessary

sary to have Recourse to Arms, to extricate us out of it, and obtain *Redress*; as a Man, who had a *gangreen'd Limb*, would consent to have it *scarify'd*, or even *cut off*, in Order to save his Life, and recover his Health. When any one, by his *Debaucheries*, or irregular Living, has brought a *Surfeit*, or *Fever* upon himself, it will certainly be requisite for him, to have Recourse to proper Remedies, *however unpalatable*; and it may then, in one Sense, be said to be his *true Interest* so to do; but will not every one allow, it would have been much more his *true Interest*, to have preserv'd his Health, whilst he enjoy'd it, by *Temperance* and *Sobriety*? In the like manner, when a Nation has been brought into desperate Circumstances, by *weak*, or *corrupt Management*, it may be *necessary* and *advisable*, to have Recourse to *Arms* to retrieve them; and consequently this may be then said to be her *true Interest*; but does not every one see, it would have been much more her *true Interest*, to have prevented her being brought into such a Case, by *prudent* and *salutary Measures*? *War* then can never, with any *common Sense*, be said to be the *true Interest* of these Kingdoms, but when it is to *avoid a greater Evil*, as, to *prevent the Invasion of our just Rights*, or for the *Protection of our Commerce*: Whether both these might not better be effected by a *vigorous* and *wise Conduct*, is what we shall not at present inquire into. Suffice it now for us, that we have shewn, the *Advancement*, and *Extension* of our *Trade*, to be the *true Interest* of the *British Nation*; suffice it, that we have likewise shewn, this cannot be expected, either while we are in a State of *War*, or whilst we enjoy but a precarious or nominal *Peace*, and this for divers obvious Reasons.

Reasons ; it will necessarily follow from hence, that we ought never to come to Hostilities, but when our Forbearance will be attended, with yet worse Consequences than a Rupture ; and it will still more necessarily follow from hence, that we ought never to engage in *such a War*, as, *whether successful or not*, can never prove *advantageous to OURSELVES, whatever it may to OTHERS* : but of this more hereafter.

Come we now to consider, in what the *natural* and *principal Strength* of these Realms consists ; for, as to the *Cultivating* and *Improving* those *natural Advantages*, with which Providence has *peculiarly blessed us*, they almost necessarily follow, from the *Advancement* and *Extension* of our *Trade*, unless we *wilfully shut our Eyes* : In Effect, all the four Particulars, which we have proposed to weigh, are, in a great Measure, connected and interwoven with each other, though, for the better Illustration of each of them, we have thought proper to take a View of them, under as many several Heads.

The *natural* and *principal Strength*, then, of these Realms, (and, indeed, of every State) consists, *first*, in a *mutual Union of the Subjects among themselves*, and the *Establishment* of a *reciprocal Love and Confidence* between the *Prince*, and *his People* : *2dly*, In our being always *able*, to fit out such a *formidable Fleet*, when ever it is requisite, and that at as *short a Warning* as possible, as may *strike a Terror* into our *Enemies* : And *3dly*, in the *Number of brave Inhabitants*, wherewith these Islands are *bless'd*. That our *principal Strength* consists, in our being at *Unity amongst ourselves*, is what we believe, will scarce be denied by any one ; and consequently we should think it quite needless, to advance any *Arguments*

ments in Support thereof ; especially after we have had the Authority of our Saviour, to confirm the Truth of it, who expressly tells us, *a Kingdom divided against itself cannot stand.*

We say, We should think it quite needless, to multiply Words, in Support of this Axiom, but that a *hellish Doctrine*, has been industriously propagated of late Years, that it is *necessary*, to *keep up the odious Distinctions of Whig and Tory, High and Low Church*, for the *Security of the Protestant Interest*, and the *Succession of the Crown in the present Family*. That this Doctrine *smells strong of the infernal Pit*, every one *must see* ; for, that *all Division* proceeds from the *Devil*, no one can deny ; what, then, do *these Monsters, these Prostitutes*, mean ? They *would not*, they *dare not*, sure *insinuate*, that there is no Way of *supporting the present Succession*, but by *going to the D——l* ; (and yet that is the *direct Consequence of this villainous Doctrine*;) if so, we must think we have *bought it very dear* ; though, we will not venture to say, even if that is the Case, that we might almost as well have trusted Providence with our Safety, because we know not what *Construction*, a *profligate Sp——l F——y*, tutor'd by a *thorough paced A——y G——l*, and directed by an *obsequious B——ch*, might be induced to put upon it. In Effect, this would be carrying our Attachment to the Government a very great Length indeed ; for, though we have heard, that we ought to venture our Lives, for the Preservation of our King and Country, which certainly is but reasonable, we never heard 'till lately, what this Doctrine evidently inculcates, that we ought to *bazard our Souls also for them*.

How unlikely soever, such *absurd Tenets* were, to *prevail on any Man of Common Sense*, we have seen

seen them too successfully inculcated, for many Years, particularly about the Time of Elections, (by those two abandoned Prostitutes, Messieurs Walsingham and Osborn,) to prevent a *Coalition of Parties*; and hinder the Dissenters from *uniting*, with the Rest of their *independant Country-men*, against the great *Leviathan*, who so long *oppressed us*; and whose *Safety* depended entirely, upon our being a *divided People*. But, though the Security of a *wicked Minister*, may depend upon our Divisions, that is, in other Words, our *Unhappiness*, it is very evident the *Welfare, Grandeur and Prosperity* of the *present Royal Family*, is *interwoven* with ours; our *Interests* are the same, and can be promoted by nothing so much, as *an Union* among ourselves, and a *reciprocal Love and Confidence*, between *our Sovereign and his People*. Whoever, therefore, by *wicked or weak Counsels*, goes about to *lessen this*, or to set the Nation at Variance amongst themselves, must have some *sinister Ends*, that will not *bear the Light*, and is *equally a Traitor* to his Prince and his Country: Thus much we thought it necessary to say, in order to send that *hellish Doctrine* back, to the Pit from whence it came, and prevent its ever being broach'd again amongst us.

Having thus demonstrated, that our *Strength* consists, chiefly, in our being *united*, we shall next proceed to shew, that it consists likewise, in our being *able* to fit out, on any Emergency, and at a *short Warning*, such a *formidable Fleet*, as may *strike a Terror* into the *boldest* of *our Enemies*. This, we think, will never be denied by any one, who considers *first*, that we are a *trading Nation*, and must *depend* upon *our Navy*, for the *Protection of our Commerce*; and *2dly*, that we are *surrounded by the Sea*, and, consequently can *neither be*

be invaded ourselves, nor attack others, but by a naval Armament. In Effect, whilst we are *Lords of the Ocean*, and *united at Home*, we may safely defy all *Europe*, though they should be *combined against us*; and there is *more Truth*, than most People are aware on, in those admirable Verses of Mr. Waller;

LORDS of the World's great Waste, the OCEAN, we

Whole Forests send, to reign upon the Sea;
And ev'ry Coast may trouble or relieve,

But none can VISIT us without our Leave.
ANGELS and we have this PREROGA-

TIVE,

That none can at our happy Seat arrive;
Whilst we descend, at Pleasure, to invade,
The Bad with Vengeance, and the Good to aid.

HAPPY, HAPPY Britons, did we know wherein our *chief Strength* and *Happiness* consists, and did we *exert* and *promote* it accordingly! What might not a King of Great Britain, supported by an *united* and *affectionate* People, and *truly consulting* and *promoting* their *mutual Interest*, be able to accomplish? We had almost said, he might be able to *give Laws* to all *Europe*. In Effect, as *Trade* is the *Source* of *Riches*, and *Riches* the *Source* of *Power*, and we have such *infinite Advantages* over the Rest of Mankind, not only by our *happy Situation*, but by the *Product* of our *Country*, and which is not the least, our *excellent Constitution*, it is evident, to a Demonstration, we might almost *engross the Wealth* of the *Univer-*
se. The *Spaniards* would be but our *Factors*, and would *possess* their *Mines*, not so much for *themselves*, as *us*; nor would even the *Dutch* be any *Thing* better, since they could not carry on their *East-India Trade*, without our *Permission*;

and

and the *Product* of their *Spice Islands* might be *more ours* than *their own* : In a Word, we might enjoy *all the Advantages* of *that Commerce*, without the *heavy Clog*, of those *exquisite Monopolists*, (*the perpetual Tools of a corrupt Ministry*,) the *East-India Company*.

Come we now to consider, the third Article, wherein *our Strength* consists, namely, in the *Number* and *Bravery* of our *People* : And this, we think, is a Point almost self-evident, and not to be contested ; it being generally agreed, that not only the *Strength*, but the *Riches* of a *State*, consists in the *Number* of its *Inhabitants*. Accordingly, the *Dutch*, as politick a *Nation* as any in *Europe*, never refuse to naturalize as many as desire it, nor to receive as many as will settle there. It is true, indeed, they will take Care, not to have any *useless Hands* amongst them, to lie as a *dead Weight* upon the *Industrious*, and they are to be commended for it ; if any, therefore, come thither, and neither bring with them, a *Sufficiency* for their *Maintenance*, nor are able to *subsist* themselves by any *Business*, they are sure to provide them both *Work* and *Sustenance*, by putting them into their *Rasp-Huys*, which answers to our *Bridewells* ; in which Piece of *found Policy*, it would be well, if we follow'd their Example. Taking it then for granted, that the *Strength* of any *State* consists, in a great *Measure*, in the *Number*, and *Bravery* of its *Inhabitants*, we shall only observe, that *Great-Britain* is the most populous, and warlike *Nation* that is, or perhaps, ever was, for its *Extent* ; that in *England* alone, exclusive of *Scotland*, or *Ireland*, we are reckoned, at the lowest *Computation*, to amount to *seven Millions* of *Souls* ; and that, consequently, the *Number* of *able-bodied Men*, computing them at the *Propotion*,

Proportion of one Fourth, is one Million seven hundred and fifty Thousand ; out of which might be spared, in Case of Necessity, a Force more than sufficient, not only to repel all Invasions at Home, but to man such a Navy, as with proper Orders, would spread a Terror, and exact Submission, wherever it appeared ; such a Navy, as would be able to verify that fine Compliment, of the above mentioned Mr. Waller, to Oliver Cromwell ;

*Where'er thy Navy spreads her Canvas
Wings,
Homage from all, and Wealth to thee she
brings.*

Another Circumstance wherein our Strength consists, and which we forgot to insist on before, is our being surrounded by the Sea ; and, consequently, *not liable to any Invasions by Land*, nor *obliged to keep up any standing Army*, or *sacrifice any of our Inland Towns*. This is such a *considerable Advantage*, as we can never *too thankfully acknowledge* ; especially as we are a *Protestant Nation*, and there is a *Pretender* to the Crown of these Realms, a *bigoted Papist*, who would, otherwise, have been, long ago, supported, with a Force sufficient, to over-run these Kingdoms ; whereas we are now more than a Match, for the utmost Power, all our Enemies, in Combination together, can possibly send against us.

We have now considered the several Particulars, upon which the Strength of these Kingdoms principally depends ; let us next examine, how far *our true Interest* can be *advanced* by a *Land-War*. We have already shewn, wherein *our true Interest* consists, namely, in the *Advancement* and *Extension* of our ~~Country~~ and in *Cultivating*

ting, and *Improving*, the natural *Advantages*, wherewith Providence has peculiarly *blessed us*. We have already shewn, and we hope to a Demonstration, that any War is diametrically contrary to the *Advancement* or *Extension* of our *Trade*, as it must necessarily occasion *heavy Taxes*, to defray the *Expences* of it ; and these *Taxes*, whether laid upon the *Necessaries of Life*, or upon our *Manufactures*, must inevitably raise the *Price* of them ; and consequently *enable our Neighbours*, who are our *Rivals in Trade*, to *undersell us*, at *foreign Markets*.

But, if *any War* is contrary to the *Advancement* of our *Commerce*, it is certain, a *Land-War* is much more so, as it is vastly more *expensive*, and *destructive*, by *draining us* more, of our *most useful Men*, and our *Money*, than a War by *Sea* can do. It cannot therefore be pretended, with any *Shew of Reason*, that the *Prosperity* of our *Trade* is consulted by such a War. As little can it be pretended, that our natural *Advantages* will be either *cultivated* or *improved* thereby ; it would be the *Height of Assurance* to affirm it. In *Effect*, will any one pretend to say, that our *Woolen Manufactory* at *Home*, will *flourish* the more for a *Land War* ; that there will *more Hands be employ'd* therein ; that it will meet with *more Encouragement* ; or that a *more effectual Stop* will be put to that *pernicious*, and *destructive Practice*, of *Owling*, or *exporting our Wool*, either to our *open Enemies*, or, which is as bad, our *false Friends*. We believe, no one will offer, to assert any thing so absurd. Again, not to descend to any more *Particulars*, will any one aver, that our *Fishery*, especially the *Herring - Fishery*, that *beneficial Branch* of our *Commerce*, which *courts us*, in a manner, at our *own Doors*, will be either *cultivated*,

ted, or *improved* during a *consuming Land-War*; no one sure will dare to advance any thing so *improbable*; the Absurdity of it would stare every one in the Face; we think, therefore, we need not multiply Words, to prove that our *true Interest*, can never be *consulted*, or *promoted* by any such Measure. No, no, it is very evident, who-ever's *Advantage* may be *taken Care of*, by such a *Conduct*, that of *Great-Britain* must *suffer egregiously*, and be *altogether neglected*.

Proceed we now to consider, how far *our natural Strength* is *exerted*, or *consulted*, by a *Land-War*. We have already shewn, that the *natural Strength* of these Realms consists, in the *mutual Union* of our *Fellow-Subjects* amongst themselves; and the *Establishment* of a *reciprocal Love*, and *Confidence*, between *our Sovereign* and *us*: Now let us see, how these *two desirable Ends*, are *promoted*, by *engaging us in a War*, upon the *Continent*.

That a *Land-War* lies *heavier* upon the *Subject*, than any other, is *manifest* for several Reasons; but, to instance only one, it *drains* us more, not only of *our most useful Hands*, we mean, *our most able bodied Men*, but, as if that were not enough, it *exhausts our Money* also; which is *sent abroad*, to *maintain* our *Troops*, and *never returns* to us again: Whereas, in a *War by Sea*, we can never *lose so many Men*, and far the *greatest Part of our Money* is *expended at Home*, amongst ourselves. Now, how *our natural Strength*, can be said either to be *consulted*, or *exerted*, by a *War*, which *must impoverish us sooner*, and *more* than any other, we must confess ourselves at a *loss* to discover. That it might possibly occasion a *mutual Union*, amongst our *Countrymen*, we will not pretend to deny; but then it would

be such an Union, as, how desirable soever **UNITY** may be, would be neither to be *wish'd for*, nor *coveted*; in short, it would be only *an Union of Comp'aints*; an *Union* in *detesting, execrating and abominating*, all those *weak, or wicked Counsellors*, who *projected, or agreed to*, such a *destructive Measure*.

Again, how can this conduce to the *establishing a reciprocal Love and Confidence*, between the *Prince and People*, we cannot possibly see; but it might probably produce a *quite different Effect*: It might create an *almost unsurmountable Mistrust and Diffidence* between them, which could not but be attended with *very melancholy Consequences*. For, on the one Hand, when the Nation saw their Sovereign pursuing such Measures, *incompatible with their Welfare*, would it not be natural for them to imagine, he had been persuaded, his Interest was *very different from theirs*? On the other Hand, when the Sovereign found his Subjects, *utterly averse to, and murmuring at*, those *Proceedings*, which he had been made, though *falsely*, to believe, were *most for his Advantage*, would he not be tempted to suppose, they were, at least, *somewhat disrespectful*; if he did not go yet farther, and suspect them of *Disaffection*? It is very evident, nothing could be more natural on both sides; and what might be the *Consequence*, of such a *mutual Jealousy*, we tremble to think; we shall, therefore, only say, *Heaven forbid, such a Misfortune should ever befall us!* However, should we ever be so unhappy, as no one can tell what may happen hereafter, it is most certain, whoever were the *Advisers* of such a *pernicious Conduct*, or whoever agreed thereto, whether it were through *Weakness, or Wickedness*, whatever might be their *Motives*, nothing can be.

be more clear, than that they would be *equally* *Traytors* to their *King* and *Country*; it being an *undeniable Truth*, that the *surest Support* of a *Throne*, is *the Love* of the *Subjects*; which can never be *preserved*, but by *pursuing such Measures*, as are *compatible with*, and *conducive to* their *Welfare* and *Prosperity*.

Another Point, wherein *our natural and principal Strength* consists, is, in our being always able, to fit out *such a formidable Fleet*, at a *short Warning*, as may *strike a Terror* into the *boldest of our Enemies*, and *maintain our Empire on the Seas*. This is an Article that never was disputed by any one; and this, being the Case, how can it be pretended, that we either *consult*, or *exert*, this *natural Strength*, by a *Land-War*? Or, how can it be said, that *such a War* conduces towards *asserting our Dominion on the Seas*? Is it not evident, that it cannot do either of these? And, consequently, is it not evident, that, by carrying on a War upon the Continent, we should give our Enemies a *great Advantage* over us, and *neglect* that very Circumstance, wherein alone *our Superiority* consists. In Effect, does not every one know, that we are *not able* to cope with them *by Land*, unless we are *vigorously supported* by a *very powerful Alliance*, which is by *no means to be depended on*; whereas we are *singly more than a Match* for them, upon the watry Element? It must, therefore, be little less than *Infatuation*, should we engage in a War, wherein we should *labour under all Manner of Disadvantages*, whilst, by attacking our Enemies by Sea, we should be able to do them *infinitely more Prejudice*, and reduce them *to Reason* much sooner, with *incomparably less Hazard*, and *Expence*, to ourselves.

A third Point wherein our Strength consists, is, in the *Number* and *Bravery* of our Country-men ; but this, though an exceeding great Advantage, if *rightly managed*, as to defend ourselves *when invaded*, to man our *Navy*, or to carry on our Manufactures, &c. can be but of little *Service* to us, if we *pursue wrong Measures*. For Instance, in Case of an *Invasion*, it would be impossible for our Enemies, if they should escape our Fleet, to pour in so many Men upon us, but what we should be able, by our Numbers, to cut them all in pieces, in a few Days, were we but *united*, and our Militia ever so little disciplined. Again, were it necessary to carry on a Sea-War, we have Hands *more than enough* to man our *Navy*, and *defeat any Force*, that could be brought against us ; not only so, but whatever Losses we might suffer in such a War, we should be able, for many Years, to find sufficient Numbers to recruit them, and all this without *so far draining* our Country, as to leave it destitute, of the Hands requisite, for *Tilling the Ground, carrying on our Manufactures*, and such like necessary Uses.

But the Case would be *widely different*, should we resolve to *attack a Power*, by *Land*, whose Dominions, being of much *larger Extent* than these Realms, should enable him, not only, to send his Hundreds of Thousands into the Field, but constantly to recruit, whatever Losses he might suffer, by *Defeats*, or *Desertion* ; as *populous* as these Kingdoms are, we should soon find ourselves no Match for such an Enemy ; for, though we might, at first, be able to oppose him with as numerous an Army, the many Thousands it would require each Campaign, to keep it up, would be such a *continual Drain*, upon our Country,

Country, as must leave it, in a Manner a *deserted*, in a few Years, and *exhaust* all the *Flower* of the Nation : So that we must, at last, *sink* under the Burthen, whilst our Enemy, though he might *suffer equal*, or even *greater Losses* than ourselves, might be able, through the greater Extent of his Dominions, not only to retrieve, but to bear up under them, and, in the End, *overwhelm us*, by meer Dint of Numbers.

A *melancholy* and *fatal Example* of this Truth, and at the same Time, an *useful Lesson* to all succeeding Princes, we have seen, within our Memory, in the Person of the *unfortunate*, and *ill-advised* Monarch, *Charles XII. King of Sweden* : Who, though he met with *uninterrupted Success*, for many Years together, against all his Enemies, had so *effectually exhausted* his Country, by his continual Wars, that, upon his receiving *one single Defeat*, at *Pultowa*, he was *irrecoverably ruined* ; whilst his Enemy, the *Czar*, though he had been *constantly worsted*, in every Engagement, and on all Occasions, was enabled, by the superior Extent of his Territories, not only to *bear up* under his Losses, but, at last to *vanquish his Conqueror*. Should any one alledge, that this Hero's Ruin was not owing, to his attacking a Prince, so much his Superior, by his vast Dominions, and the Numbers of his Men, but to his retiring into *Turkey*, we beg he would consider, that, by all Accounts, his Kingdom was *so much drained* of its most *useful Hands*, that the *very Women* were forced to *till the Ground*, *drive their Carriag s*, *ply* upon their Rivers, and, in short, perform all those *laborious Offices*, for which the *most robust Men* alone were proper ; that, consequently, had he not *taken Refuge* in *Turkey*, had he even *continued successful*, for some Time longer,

his *very Victories* must have *undone* him, in the End, by *depopulating* his Country; which has not yet recover'd, the Damage it suffer'd, by so imprudent a *Conduet*.

Another material Point, wherein our *principal Strength* consists, and to which we ought to have an Eye, in all our Undertakings, is, that we are Islanders, surrounded by the Sea; *an Advantage*, without which, all others *would avail us very little*. But this Advantage, how great soever, may be render'd of no Effect, by ill *Conduet*: For Instance, the *same happy Situation*, which renders it *impossible* for any, or all our Enemies, to *invade us*, with any Probability of Success, provided we are tolerably united, renders it *equally impracticable* for us, to make any Attacks upon them by Land, without labouring under all Manner of Disadvantages. The only War, from which we can promise ourselves any Success, or derive any good, is a War by Sea; by such a War, we can *annoy* our Enemies more, than by any other; and, by such a War, we can *better repel* any Attacks made upon us by them; it follows, consequently, that our *natural Strength* can never be either *exerted*, or *consulted*, by engaging in *any War*, upon the Continent.

Accordingly, we defy all Mankind, to point out *any one single Advantage*, that can *possibly result to us*, from such an *absurd* and *preposterous Conduet*, to call it by *no harder Name*; whereas the *Prejudice*, we may receive from thence, is *infinite*, and *evident*. It is agreed on all Hands, we do not want to make any Conquests, by Land; it is not our Interest so to do; and if we should be *so weak* as to desire it, our Allies themselves (if we have any worth calling so,) would not consent thereto, but would oppose it: What *Business*

ness then can we have, to involve ourselves in a War, which *probably* may be *excessively detrimental*, if not *absolutely ruinous*, and cannot *possibly be* of any *Service* to us ?

To descend from Generals to Particulars, the only Motives, that have been openly avow'd, for our *engaging so deeply*, in the present War in *Germany*, are to *resto. & Peace to the Empire*, and *support the Queen of Hungary*. Very specious Pretences, we must confess ! and which carry a pretty plausible Appearance, to those who look no farther than the Outside of Things ; but which will, by no means, be *satisfactory*, to any *honest and thinking Briton*, if we have still any such left amongst us ; which, by what we have seen happen, within these two Years, we are almost tempted to question.

If it should be pretended, that the latter of these, *namely*, the *Support of the Queen of Hungary*, was *really* one of the Motives, for our *entering so deeply* into the present War, several Difficulties will arise, which, we are afraid, it would *puzzle* some of our *wisest Heads* to solve. In the first Place, why was it *so long delay'd*? Why did we suffer her *Hungarian Majesty*, to be brought to the *very Brink of Ruin*, before we offered to assist her ? Why did we *sit still*, and see her Dominions so *cruelly harassed*, and her *whole Strength and Wealth*, in a Manner, *exhausted*, before a *single Man was order'd*, to *move to her Relief*? Is it not *evidently* owing only to a *Miracle*, and to the *visible Intercession* of the *Divine Providence*, in her Behalf, that her *whole Inheritance* was not *entirely swallowed up*, whilst we continued *quiet Spectators*, of the *Barbarity and Injustice*, of her *merciless, and cowardly Enemies* ?

If therefore, it was *expedient*, or *necessary* for us, to assist her at all, does not every one see, it would have been *more adviseable*, to have done it sooner? Either *it was*, or *it was not*, requisite, to *espouse her Interest*, and *save her from sinking*: If it was not, why have we *armed* now, so *many Thousands* in her Quarrel? And, if it was, does not every one see, we might have done it, at *less Expence*, and with *infinitely less Hazard*, whilst she was herself able, to make a *vigorous Struggle* in her own Defence, than at present, when she has *suffered so much*, from the *Ravages* of her *Oppressors*, and *lost* such Numbers of her *choicest Men*? What shall we say to *such monstrous Politicks*? Or rather, what will all the World think of *such absurd Conduct*? Did we suffer that *glorious Princess*, to be *reduced so low*, and her *Enemies* to *triumph so long* over her, only to show Mankind, we can still *pull down the latter*, and *restore* the former, to her *pristine Splendor*, by the *superior Force and Bravery*, of the *invincible Armies of Great-Britain and Hanover*? Such a Piece of *Knight-Errantry* might *found very well* in a *Romance*, but will make a *very indifferent Appearance in History*.

Again, when it was once resolved to assist her *Hungarian Majesty*, why were the sixteen thousand *Hanoverians*, which we had so *prudently* taken into our pay, about the Beginning of last Winter, ordered down to *Flanders*, where, it was known, they could be of no Service; and why were they not sent after *Maillebois*, to *harrass* him in his *March*, and *prevent* the *Retreat* of the *French Forces*; which being *coop'd up* in *Prague*, must have been either *cut in Pieces*, *famis'd*, or *made Prisoners at Discretion*? But that *Punning* may seem too *ludicrous*, upon so *melancholly* a subject,

we would fain ask, where was the *Discretion*, of such *unaccountable Measures*?

Shall it eternally be *truly said*, by *Foreigners*, to the *Reproach* of our *Country*, that the *English* have, indeed, *Abundance of Wit*, but then it is only *After-wit*? Shall we always resemble the late Lord *Wharton's PUPPIES*, by *never opening our Eyes*, 'till we are *downright sinking*? Are not *all Evils*, if *foreseen in time*, to be *prevented*, at an *easier and cheaper Rate*, than they can be *remedied afterwards*? Did we never before discover, that the *Power of France*, was *growing formidable to Europe*? Have not the *Gentlemen*, in the *Opposition*, *alarmed us* frequently, for many years, with *Representations* of its *continual Increase*? Are not divers of their *Speeches* yet *extant*? Nay, have not all the *Public Writers*, except those *Prostitutes* in the *Pay of the M—y*, taken the *Alarm*, and *echoed* the *impending Danger*, throughout the *Kingdom*? And what has been the *Consequence* thereof? Were not both the *One*, and the *Other* represented, at one *Time*, as *seditious and disaffected Persons*, who were *perpetually disturbing* the *Tranquillity* of the *Nation*, by *infusing* into them *vain Fears*, of *imaginary and chimerical Perils*, that existed *nowhere*, but in their *own Brain*? Whilst our *wise, honest, and sagacious M—r*, *perfisted* in still *contributing*, by every *Step* he took, towards the *Aggrandizement*, of that our *natural Enemy*, regardless of all that could be said *against it*. And, at another *Time*, when the *Danger* was become *too visible to be denied*, was not the *Note changed*; and was not this *very Danger urged against us*, and but *too successfully*, for many years, to prevent our *taking Revenge*, of a *cruel, cowardly, and despicable Nation*, who had not only *insulted*, and *plunder'd us*, but *committed the most insolent*

insolent and provoking Outrages, equally to the Dishonour of our Sovereign and his Subjects?

Was not, we say, this the very Case? Was not the Danger of incensing France, urged, with too much Success, to prevent our declaring War against Spain, in our own Cause? Nay, was it not even said, that we must not dare to intercept or seize the Galleons, though we should come to a Rupture with Spain, because the French had the greatest Share of Property therein, and would not suffer it?

Did we not *wink at* the Marquis D'Antin's Expedition to the Baltick, though it was *openly declared*, that one Part of his Business was to *sound our Coasts*; and though it put us to the Charge, of *fitting out a peaceable Squadron*, to prevent any *sinister Designs*, that might be concealed under that *Pretence*? Did we not even *wink at* his *second Expedition* to the *West-Indies*, and suffer him to *proceed so far* thereon, before we sent any Ships after him, that, had not *Providence interposed* in our Favour, not only Admiral *Vernon* and his Squadron must have been swallow'd up, by the united *Navy of France and Spain*, but, probably, Sir *Chaloner Ogle* himself, with his Fleet, must likewise have fallen a *Sacrifice*, in the *second Place*? Is any one *so weak*, as to imagine, the Marquis D'Antin *would not have assisted the Spaniards*, could he but have joined them, before the Arrival of Sir *Chaloner*? And was it not owing entirely to *contrary Wards*, that he did not? Is it not evident, by the Conduct of the Marquis, in returning immediately to *Europe*, when he found *his Design frustrated*, by the Junction of our Admirals, that this was the sole *End* of his Voyage? Or do we believe the *French* were *fond*, of *copying after our wise Example*, in *fitting out peaceable Squadrons*

drons, and putting the Public to unnecessary *Ex-pence*, to *persuade* their *Enemies* into Compliance, with their *Desires*? Was not the *whole Nation*, so universally convinced, that the *French Fleet* were sent to join the *Spaniards*, and fall, with their *united Force*, upon *Admiral Vernon*, that we all *gave him over for lost*? Was it not even suggested, that it was the *Desire* of *some Persons*, at *Home*, who *bore* that gallant Officer *no good Will*, and were *utterly averse* to our *declaring War*, that he *might be defeated*? In Effect, might it not be *truly said* of him, on that Occasion, as was, on another, of *Queen Elizabeth*, that the *Elements* *fought for him*. And might not this Compliment be justly apply'd to him?

*O ! nimium dilecta Deo, cui militat Æther,
Et conjurati veniunt ad Cœsara venti !*

Claudian.

Was not this, we say again, the real *Cafe*? And did we not *wink* at all these gross *Affronts*, rather than draw upon us the Power of *France*, in our own *Cause*? Nay, did we not even *wink* at her *building diverse Batteries*, near *Dunkirk*, on *pre-tence* of *guarding her Coasts*, from *Insults*, to *av-void breaking with her*, on any *Account*, though our own *Interest* was in *Question*? And are we now, *wantonly*, *bringing her Arms upon us*, without any *fresh Provocation*, and that in *another's Quarrel*, and (what is yet worse) in a *consuming Land-War*? Amazing Change! Or rather, *mon-strous Inconsistence*, in our *Counsels*! But, what shall we say, We hope, we are not as yet fallen under that heavy *Curse*, *Quos Deus vult perdere prius dementat*.

In Effect, either our *past Conduct*, for, at least, these dozen Years, was *weak* and *destructive*, or our *present Measures* must be so ; and some, perhaps,

haps, may be so malicious to insinuate, neither of them are much better. But, however that may be, this is evident, granting the former to be the Case, if we are now to act the *Part of Penelope*, by *pulling down* what we have been so long *building up*, and running counter to all our Measures for that Time, one Step more was *absolutely necessary*, even for our own *Vindication*; namely, the making a *publick Recantation*, by *disclaiming* and *disavowing* our past *Conduct*; by *owning* we had been *imposed on*, and *betray'd*; and (which likewise *necessarily* follows) by an *Impeachment*, and *vigorous Prosecution*, of *those*, who had thus *misled*, *betray'd*, and *imposed* upon us, with *all their Tools*, and *Abettors*, be they ever so numerous. This, we say, was *absolutely necessary*, if we desired to *create any Confidence*, either in our *Allies*, if such we still have, or in our *People at Home*: For, otherwise, if we *skreen* and *protect* the *Trayors*, whilst we *condemn* their *Treasons*; if we *suffer them to enjoy with Impunity* the *Fruits* of their *Villany*, whilst we are *groaning under the Misfortunes*, and *Pressures* occasioned by their *pernicious Proceedings*; if we *allow them to revel in insolent Joy*, and *Plenty*, whilst the *whole Nation* are *almost starving*, and *mourning their wretched Condition*; we may *talk of our Wisdom*; we may *boast of our Bravery*; and we may *prate* if we please, of our *Liberty*; but the first will be *DESPISED*, the second *PITIED*, and the third *LAUGH'D at*, by all *Europe*.

Come we now, to the other Motive, for engaging in the present War, namely, *that of restoring Peace in the Empire*; and let us see whether the Matter will be much mended? We are afraid not. In the first Place, most of the Questions before asked, if not all of them, might again be repeated

repeated as properly here, and it would be equally difficult, to give a satisfactory Answer thereto ; not only so but besides those, some other Objections, might be started, by an ill-natured *Querist*, which it would not be found an easy Task to remove. For Instance, how coines *Great-Britain*, which, being an Island, can be but *remotely*, if at all, *affected* thereby, *more concerned*, in *Re-establishing* the *Peace* of the *Empire*, than divers of the *Princes* of *Germany*, and even *some* of the *most powerful* ; though their *Dominions* are *situated* therein ; and, being *themselves* *Members* of it, their *Welfare* and *Safety* must be *look'd* upon, as *inseparable* from that of the *Germanick-Body* ; and yet seem, to *trouble* *themselves* *very little*, about the present *War*.

There are but two Ways, by which, this their *indolent Behaviour* can possibly be accounted for ; the One is by saying, that they do not apprehend the *Safety* of the *Empire*, as a *Body*, to be *at all in Danger*, at this *Juncture*, and then it will follow, of Course, that we had no *Business* to *interfere* in the *War*. The other is, by *frankly confessing*, that, finding us, to be *at all Times so ready*, to be the *Don Quixotes*, and *Dupes* of *Europe*, they *are resolved*, to *lay the whole Burden* upon us. Now which of these may be *Case*, we will not pretend to determine ; but this we will venture to *affirm* ; that, supposing the former to be the *Truth*, we are *acting* a *very imprudent Part* ; and supposing it to be the latter, whatever may be the *Issue* thereof, it will not *redound much* to our *Honour*, or *Interest*, to be constantly the *Bubbles*, and *Jack-pay-for-all's* of every *Power* on the *Continent*. In *Effect*, it is very evident, it is *in this Light*, our *Neighbours* at present *look upon us* ; it would, otherwise, have been impossible, that the *Dutch*, who

who, had the Queen of *Hungary* been overwhelmed, must infallibly have fallen a Sacrifice the next, could have remained so long, such quiet and unconcerned Spectators, of a War, on the Event of which, their own Security immediately depended.

Having mentioned the *Dutch*, we cannot help making one Observation, with Regard, to their *Behaviour* to us of late Years, which has equally raised our *Astonishment*, and *Indigation*; it is this, that we have not been able, to prevail on them to join with us, in any one Measure, unless we should except the *Suppression* of the *Ostend Company*, (wherein they were more than equally concerned, in Point of *Interest*, with ourselves) and in the present *War*, if they can properly be said as yet to have joined us. We say, this has equally raised our *Indigation* and *Astonishment*; the one, at the *Slight* put upon us, and the *Indignity* offer'd us; (not to mention their gross *Ingratitude* to a Nation, which has so often prevented their being swallowed up,) the other, that our incomparable *Statesmen* have never bethought themselves of a Way, to compel them to it, and that almost at any Time. Let but the Minister of *Great-Britain*, who resides at the *Hague* declare peremptorily, in his Master's Name, that *He will renounce all Alliance* with them, and leave them to the *Mercy of France*, unless they will cordially espouse our *Interests*, and unite their *Forces*, against our common *Enemies*, as the *French* ever were, and ever must be, and they will not stand long hesitating about it: In Effect, they, wou'd then, have but these two *Ways* to choose; either to throw themselves directly, into the *Arms* of *France*, and become a Province to her, or, to join *Heart and Hand* with us; and which of these would

would be the *most eligible*, we leave any one to judge.

To return, however, from whence we have digres'd, we would fain ask another *Question*; namely, how has the Empire *deserved it* at our Hands, that we should interest ourselves *so deeply* in its Welfare? We confess, we know of no *Obligation* we have to it, nor, indeed, of any we possibly can have. We know, on the contrary, that it *owed its Safety* to us, at the ever-memorable Battle of *Hochstedt*; when our *victorious Army*, defeated the *ambitious Views* of the *common Enemy of Europe*, at an *infinite Expence* both of *Blood and Treasure*; for which we were *amply rewarded, no doubt*, by a few *bloody Rags*, some of which still hang up in *Westminster Hall*: But, how this Benefit, conferred thereon by us, at so *dear a Rate*, should *lay us under a fresh Obligation*, of *conferring more*, and *probably*, at as *exorbitant a Price*, we must own, we cannot perceive.

In Effect, who was it lighted up the *Flames of War* in the *Empire*, and carried *Fire and Sword*, into the *Dominions* of the *Queen of Hungary*? Was it not the *Elector of Bavaria*? A Prince, who has always been in the *Interest* of the *common Enemy* and *Incendicry of Europe*, and who has trod exactly in the *Steps* of his deceased Father? And did not the Empire, nevertheless, choose this Prince as their *Head*, and thereby enable him the more, to *lay waste*, and *spread Desolation* through, great Part of the *Territories of her Hungarian Majesty*? Did not most of the *Princes* assist the *Emperor* in so doing, and do not many still support him with *Men or Money*? Who then can they *have to blame*, but themselves, for the *Ravage and Devastation* of the *Empire*? And

And what Busines have we to *intermeddle* therewith? Must they *light up Fires*, and must we be at the *Expence* and *Trouble* of *extinguishing* them? As to the *Emperor* himself, we think he is so far from being to be *pityed*, that we are of *Opinion*, he deserves, yet worse than he has yet met with; and should not be sorry, to see him reduced to *take Refuge* in *France*, as his Father did before him.

To speak the Truth, the *House of Bavaria* have, for many Years, been the *never failing Tools*, of the *House of Bourbon*; and, though we bear no Ill-will to the *Bavarians*, as a People, yet, as they are continually made the *Instruments*, of their Prince's *unjust Schemes* to *embroil Europe*, and are thereby render'd *subservient*, to the *ambitious* and *wicked Designs* of the *Court of Versailles*, we think, it would be for the *Benefit of Christendom*, if both *they*, and the *French*, were almost *exterminated*, as the *Pests of Society*, and *common Enemies of Mankind*. Perhaps this may sound *very ill-natured* in the *Ears* of some People, and we may be censured as *highly inhuman*; but, if they would weigh the *Matter* rightly, they would soon be convinced to the *contrary*; and would know, we are governed in our *Opinion*, by this *equitable Rule*,

— *Nec Lex est justior ulla,
Quam necis artifices arte perire suā.*

In Effect, if either the *French*, and *Bavarians*, or all the *Rest of Europe*, must be *ruined*; if they have constantly endeavoured to *embroil all Christendom*; if the whole *Tenor* of their *Conduct*, for many Years, has been the *same*, and they have *never wanted the Will*, when they have had the *Power*; if their *Princes*, within these *four score Years*, have been the *Cause*, of *shedding as much Blood*,

Blood, and destroying as many Men, as both their Dominions contain, (which we verily believe they have;) and if their Subjects are always ready, to execute their very worst Commands, we think, it will hardly admit of any Dispute, which ought to suffer.

That we have not aggravated Matters, in this Representation of the Case, will evidently appear, if we consider, how often, within that Time, they have called the *Turks* into the *Empire*, and what Numbers, on both Sides, lost their Lives on those Occasions; if we reflect, likewise, what Seas of Blood were shed by them, on Account of the Succession to the Crown of *Spain*, whereon they perfidiously seized, contrary to all *Laws human and divine*; if we reflect, on their *spiriting up* the *Spaniards*, to seize on *Sicily*, in 1718, the preventing of which has caused the War between them and us ever since; together with their *successful Invasion* of both *Naples*, *Sicily* and *Milan*, in 1734, in Conjunction with the Kings of *Spain* and *Sardinia*, whom they also drew into that War; their bribing the *Cardinal Primate of Poland*, with several of the *Grandees*, to elect *Stanislaus*, tho' contrary to his Desire, merely to make his Election a *Bone of Contention*, and to set all *Europe* in a Flame; their *spiriting up* the *Swedes* since, to fall upon the *Muscovites*, and the Kings of *Prussia* and *Poland*, with the *Elector of Bavaria*, to attack the *Queen of Hungary*; if we reflect on all these, we say, and the Millions of Lives, lost on all Sides thereby, we shall find, we have not exceeded the Bounds of Probability, in saying, the *French* and *Bavarians* have been the Occasion, of destroying as many Men, as both their Dominions contain: We have passed over their *perfidious*

dious Invasion of the Seven Provinces, which they almost over-ran in the Reign of *Charles II*, and their *more perfidious* and *inhuman Behaviour*, on Pretence of being Mediators, in *Corsica*, with the Blood shed on those Occasions, because we would not *inflame the Reckoning*.

To return then, from whence we have again digressed, we have seen, that, whether our engaging in the present War, be ascribed to our *Desire*, of *Supporting the Queen of Hungary*, or of *Restoring Peace to the Empire*, our *Conduct* must appear both *weak*, and *unaccountable*, to all *sensible*, and *unprejudiced Persons*. Neither would the Matter be much mended, should we add a third Motive, and say it was necessary, to prevent the *Overtthrow of the Ballance of Power*, in *Europe*; because it is *notoriously known*, that the *whole Tenor of our Conduct*, for above these Twenty Years, has had a *visible Tendency*, to *aggrandize France*, and *weaken the House of Austria*; which, every one, who did not *wilfully shut his Eyes* against Conviction, was sensible could not fail, of *effectually destroying the Ballance of Power*.

This was *so manifest*, that some Persons have pretended to account for it, by saying, that the *Greatness of the Austrian Family*, was *look'd upon with invidious Eyes*, by a certain *G-rm-n Prince*; that he was, therefore, desirous, of *bringing it down* to his *own Level*; and that he found the Means, to prevail upon *our M——ry*, to join with him, in this *detestable and destructive Project*; which has, accordingly, been put in *Execution* but *too successfully*. We must own, were we to judge by Appearances, and the present Posture of Affairs, we should be tempted to believe this; but then we can't help thinking, that *an Impeachment*

ment, must have been the *necessary Consequence*, of our *Change of Measures*, were it only to vindicate the *Nation in general*, from having consented to a Design so execrable, and so contrary to our *true Interest*: As no such Thing, therefore, has been attempted, we must conclude, there are no *Grounds*, for such a *Suggestion*.

Neither would we willingly believe, there is any more Foundation, for another, which has been, industriously, whisper'd about, and has gained some *Credit*; namely, that the *Advantage*, and *Welfare*, of a certain *El—te*, has been of *more Weight*, and *more consulted*, in our *Measures*, at this *Juncture*, than the *Interest*, and *Prosperity* of *Great-Britain*; because it would necessarily follow, that even the present *Pilots* of the *State*, were but *little less criminal*, than *those in former Times*; and consequently, that we are scarce any Way the *Gainers*, by the *Change*.

What gave *Rise* to this *Suggestion*, we suppose, was this; that the *People*, not being able to account for our late *Conduct*, and particularly, for *one Step*, which they thought *wholly inconsistent* with the *Interest* of these *Kingdoms*, were willing to ascribe it to the *Regard*, *some Persons* had for a *certain Country*, for whose *Advantage* alone it seem'd calculated: But they never consider'd, that, though *such a Regard*, might be *very excusable*, and *natural*, in *those Persons*, it was *quite the Reverse*, and *absolutely unpardonable* in *some others*; because it shew'd, they were utterly *unmindful*, and *regardless*, of the *Welfare* of *another Country*, for which they were bound, by the *strictest Tyes of Duty*, and *Nature*, to have the *most tender Concern*.

We chuse, therefore, rather to suspend our *Judgment*, till we can have better *Information*,

what were the *real Motives*, which induc'd us, now, to *engage so precipitately*, in a *War upon the Continent*, than be guilty, of *passing a rash Censure*, upon the *Counsels of those*, for *whose Wisdom, and Integrity*, we would willingly retain the *utmost Veneration*. But, nevertheless, we cannot help observing, it is *somewhat amazing*, the *present Land-War*, wherein we are as yet *only Auxiliaries*, should have *so much engrossed* all our *Care, and Attention*, that the *War with Spain*, wherein we are *Principals*, and in the *Success thereof*, we are *infinitely more nearly concerned*, should be *wholly neglected*, and in a *Manner, forgot*. It must be confessed, to our *eternal Honour*, that we are certainly the *most generous, and disinterested Nation*, that ever was, in thus *preferring the Advantage of our Allies, to our own*; we should be glad, if we could see any of them, who were fond of following our *Example*; but they are *wiser*, than to *imitate us*, in such *Knight-Errantry*.

Will it be said, in *Justification* of this *strange and unaccountable Conduct*, that the *whole Nation called out loudly upon us, to assist her Hungarian Majesty*? Supposing it should be granted; would this be a sufficient *Excuse*? Not in the least? We own, it was a *very popular Measure*; we own, the *Britons*, who are *naturally a brave, and generous People*, could *not bear to see that injured, and gallant Princess, so basely and unjustly oppressed, and overwhelm'd, by such Numbers of treacherous and cowardly Enemies*, who, without any *Provocation*, invaded her *Dominions*, on all *Sides*, with *Fire and Sword*, without wishing *Providence might raise her up some Protector, to support her Cause*; But does this prove, we desired so many *British Regiments*, should be transported

ported to *Flanders*, at an infinite Expence ; and that we should take Sixteen Thousand *Hanoverians* into our Pay, almost a Year before we wanted them, to *fight*, in a Manner, *their own Quarrel*? We say, *their own Quarrel*; for, that they were much more nearly concerned therein, than we, *nobody can deny*. As little does it prove, that we were willing, our own Interest should be entirely neglected, or postponed ; or that, while we are maintaining a powerful Squadron, in the *Mediterranean*, for the *Protection* of the Territories of *Sardinia* and *Tuscany*, the *Spaniards* should be suffered, almost unmolested, to take our Merchant-Ships, and every Week should bring an Account of *fresh Captures* ; which might long ago have been prevented, in a great Measure, by sending a *small Squadron*, to *St. Sebastian's*, to *demolish* that *Nest of Pyrates* ; or, at least, to *burn* all the *Privateers* in that Harbour.

No, this was such *preposterous Conduct*, as could never have been foreseen, or, if it had, would never have been approved of. We grant, we were willing the *Queen of Hungary* should be *assisted* ; but then it was by *timely Remittances in Money*, with which she could have *hired Troops*, not only, at a *much easier Rate* than we possibly can, but *such Troops*, as she might have had *much sooner*, and which, being *absolutely* at her *own Command*, would have done her *much more effectual Service*, than any others. In the mean while, if we were willing to go yet farther, a *formidable Fleet* might have made a *powerful Diversification*, by keeping the *Coasts of France*, in a *continual Alarm*, which would, at once, have answered *two good Ends* ; one, by *obliging them*, to keep a *large Body of Forces*, upon *their Sea Coasts*, and *interrupting their Commerce*, which, of itself, would have been *highly advanta-*

gious to us ; the other, by scorning our *Channel*, and securing our *Merchant-Ships*, from any *Spanish Privateers*, or, which is as bad, from the *French*, under the Disguise of *Spaniards* ; we might add a *third Advantage*, which would have resulted to us, from so judicious and prudent a Conduct ; namely, we should either not have heard, of the *Refortifying Dunkirk*, in express *Violation*, of the *Treaty of Utrecht*, or might have effectually prevented it, by a timely *Visit*, before it had been too far advanced. There was yet another Way of distressing the *French*, which would have gall'd them considerably, and that is, by procuring Commissions from her *Hungarian Majesty*, to fit out *Privateers*, under her *Colours* ; which would, nevertheless, have been no Breach of Peace, nor any more than the *Lex Talionis*, as they have done the same by us, several Times.

We confess, indeed, if we must always be burthened, with the same numerous *Land-Army*, as of late Years, we should choose much rather, to have them employ'd, in fighting for our *Allies abroad*, than in spreading *Idleness*, and *Debauchery*, by their Examples, at *Home*, throughout the Kingdom. But it was *expected*, long ago, that we should have been relieved from this Grievance ; and though no *Ease* could be obtained, during the Influence of our late *Grand-Vizier*, it was generally believed, this would have been, the *agreeable first Fruits*, of a *Change* ; nay, though we found ourselves disappointed herein, Nobody doubted, but it would have been complied with, before it was attempted, to lay any farther *Load* upon the *Publick*, in Favour of any *Ally* whatever ; so willing were we to wait with *Patience*, and not be too precipitate in censuring.

To our Sorrow, however, we were *mistaken egregiously*, and have seen a Change of Hands, with *very little Alteration of Measures*: So *contagious* is a *bad Example*! especially when *no Punishment* has been inflicted on the first Offender. Nevertheless, though we have taken *one false Step*, and there is *no Likelyhood*, we should *recede* from it, at least, if we are *guided* by the same *wise Counsels*, as of late, till the *Back* of the Nation is *quite broken*, we will venture to *lay it down*, as an *unalterable Maxim*, with *Respect* to these Kingdoms, that, whenever we would exert our *natural Strength*, to the *greatest Advantage*, and *annoy our Enemies the most*, with the *least Expence*, and *Hazard to ourselves*, we must begin, with *Disbanding our Land-Forces*, and *Taking off our most burthensome Taxes*: We must, then, necessarily, reign *Lords of the Ocean*; and, though our own *Trade*, might *labour under some Difficulties* (which is the *constant Effect of War*;) that of our *Neighbours* would *labour under yet more*; which would make them *soon willing*, to give us *reasonable Satisfaction*.

In *Effect*, the *Cafe* is widely *altered*, between us and the *French*, since the *late War*; during that, we had a *pretty flourishing Trade*, and the *French scarce any*; so that, we had a *great Deal to lose*, and *scarce any Thing to get*: (And yet even then, by a *right Management*, we might have made them *soon weary of it*;) Whereas *now*, as they are *our Rivals*, and that *too successfully*, in *most* of our *Branches of Trade*, (wherein they have, in *a great Measure*, *supplanted us*,) they have *as much, or more to lose* than we, and, by *Reason* of our *Superiority at Sea*, must *necessarily suffer the most*. If we must engage in a *War*, therefore, at any *Time*, (which, as has been already shewn, we ought ne-

ver to do, but for the *Prevention* of a greater *Evil*, as the *Interruption* of our *Commerce*, or *Violation* of our *just Rights*, let us carry it on, in such a Manner, as to *annoy our Enemies the most*, and that with the *least Hazard* and *Expence*, and the *greatest Probability* of *Advantage*, to ourselves.

Should we not think any Man, *little better than mad*, who, being *himself* but of *small Stature*, and *weak*, and having a *Quarrel* to *decide*, with an *Adversary* of *Twice his Strength*, (with whom, however he could *very well cope*, either at *Small-Sword* or with *Fire-Arms*,) if, having it in his own *Power*, to *choose his Weapons*, *he should decline using those*, which rendered him a *Match* for his *Antagonist*, and *vain-gloriously, rashly*, and *foolishly*, *should offer to engage him*, at *Fifty-Cuffs*, wherein the other had *visibly the Odds* on his Side? Should we not say such an *obstinate Wretch*, was *infatuated*, and *highly deserved*, to be *heartily drubbed*, in order to bring *Him to his Senses*? This would certainly be the *Opinion*, of every *reasonable Man*; nor would any one, *either assist or pity him*, though *reduced to the most deplorable Condition*; but bid him *thank himself*. Just as *weak* and *absurd*, is the *Conduct* of *Great-Britain*, in *Engaging* in a *War by Land*, with any *Power* upon the *Continent*.

But, perhaps, it will be said, we could not, any other Way, *so effectually support her Hungarian Majesty*; and that we were *bound to assist her*, as *Guarantees* of the *Pragmatic Sanction*: Let us examine, therefore, what *Truth* there would be, in such a *Suggestion*; Supposing then a *timely Remittance*, of *Two Millions of Florins*, over and above what has already been granted her, had been made to that *Glorious Princess*, at the *Beginning* of the *War*; and supposing the *Hanoverians* had *paid their own Troops*, which, as *their Country* is *more nearly*

nearly concerned in the Event thereof, than ours, they ought to have done: Supposing we, in the mean while, had sent a powerful Squadron, with Five, or Six Thousand Soldiers, and a proper Number of Bomb-Ketches, to keep the Sea-Coasts, of France, in a continual Alarm, and carry Terror and Desolation, wherever they appeared; would not such a Diversion, with the infinite Damage they might have done, and the almost total Interruption of their Commerce, have obliged the French to send such Numbers, to man their Coasts, as would have weakened their Army more, than any other Measure we can take? This, we believe, will hardly be disputed; but *Foresight*, and *sound Policy*, are very seldom the *Characteristics* of a *B—t—b M—y*.

Accordingly, we saw ours, continue wholly unconcerned and indolent, whilst the Kings of *France*, *Spain*, and *Sardinia*, in Conjunction, invaded the Dominions, of our ancient Ally the *Emperor*, on every Side; stript him of all his Possessions in *Italy*; and reduced him to the last Extremity; to extricate himself from which, his *Imperial Majesty*, was forced to agree, to the Cession of the *Dutchy of Lorain* to *France*; to which he had prevailed on the Duke to consent, in Consideration of his Marriage with the Archduchess, now *Queen of Hungary*, and the eventual Succession, to the *Dutchy of Tuscany*. This considerable *Aggrandizement*, of our natural *Enemy*, they beheld, we say, with the utmost *Unconcern*, at the same Time that they saw the *Ballance of Power*, in *Europe*, entirely overthrown, by the so great *Weakening* of the *House of Austria*, in the *Loss of Milan, Naples, and Sicilies*. All this did our then worthy *Ministry*, look on, with *Indifference*; whilst the *Prostitutes*, whom they kept in pay, to cast a *Mist* before the Eyes of

of the People, and *poison* their Minds, *were not ashamed*, to be daily *inveighing* against the Treaty of *Utrecht*, for having left the *House of Bourbon* too *formidable*, and not having *sufficiently provided* for the *Ballance of Power*.

But submitting it to *wiser Heads*, and *to those*, whom it may more immediately concern, by *what Motives* those *Gentlemen* *were influenced*, at that Time, we shall now proceed to consider, what we at first proposed, namely, what must be the *probable Consequences* of our engaging in a *Land-War*: And in order to set this in a clearer Light, we shall examine, *First*, whether any *Advantages*, can possibly accrue to us from thence, and *Secondly*, what *Detriment* we may in all likelihood, apprehend from it. As to the former, we defy all Mankind, to point out one single *Advantage*, we can reap from it; we may, indeed, gain *Victories*, and take *Towns*, but will this be of *any Service to ourselves*? No, the *Expence of Blood* and *Treasure* will be left to us, as has always been in former Wars; whilst the *Benefit* will *redound solely to our Allies*.

In short, it would puzzle any one, to say, *what Benefit* we can *propose to ourselves*, from this *extraordinary Step*. Will it *increase or extend our Trade*? No one will have the *Impudence* to affirm it. Will it *enrich the Nation*? Quite the contrary; it will *greatly impoverish us*, by *continually draining* from us *our Money*, and *our most useful Hands*. Will it *secure us from the Depredations* of the *Spaniards*, or *obtain better Terms* for us, from *those haughty and cruel Enemies*? Just the *Reverse*; whilst we are *exerting our whole Strength*, in *Support of the Queen of Hungary*, at the *Expence of our best Blood and Treasure*, they will have the *fairest Opportunity* to exert *themselves*, by

by Redoubling their Outrages, and Putting their Possessions in America, into such a Condition, *not to fear any Insults*: So that, in Proportion, as we grow weaker, they will grow stronger, and consequently, will be the *less likely to recede*, from their insolent Pretensions. What a *hopeful Prospect* is this for Great-Britain ! If, then, a *Land-War*, will neither *extend our Trade, enrich the Nation, secure us from the Depredations and Insults of our Enemies*, nor *obtain us any better Terms* from them ; what *Advantage*, in the Name of Wonder, do we *propose to ourselves* from thence ?

Perhaps, it may be answered, we shall obtain honourable Terms for her *Hungarian Majesty*, after which, we shall be at Liberty, to *exert ourselves, in our own Behalf, and push on the War, with Vigour*, against the Spaniards. Shall we so ! We are heartily glad of it truly ! We thought, however, in *common Prudence*, we ought *first to have taken Care of our own Concerns* ; and then to have considered about *assisting our Allies*. But what have a *generous, disinterested British M-----y*, to do with *Common Prudence*. And yet, what would they say to a Man, who, when *his own House, and that of a distant Neighbour*, were both in a *Flame*, at the same Time, should run to help *extinguish the latter, and leave his own to be consumed* ? Should not they, and all the World, pronounce him a *Madman* ? And are not we *now acting the very same Part* ? In Effect, supposing, we were not only to obtain, the *most honourable Terms*, for the *Queen of Hungary*, (which yet is somewhat doubtful,) but should be *so successful, as to recover, for Her, all the House of Austria have lost*, within these Ten Years, what would this *avail us*, if our *own Nation is impoverish'd, our most-able bodied Men exhausted, and our Commerce irretrievably lost* ?

All

All of which, are the *probable Consequences*, of our engaging *now* in a *Land-War*. We say of engaging *now*, because we must engage, at ten times the *Disadvantage*, we did formerly, in Queen Anne's Reign ; as will be shewn presently, in its proper Place.

But, perhaps it may be said, we may possibly *enlarge* our *Dominions*, by obtaining *some Territories* on the *Continent*, which may *add* to the *Splendour* of our *Crown*; and give *more Weight* to *our Influence*, whether we are to *declare War*, or enter into *Negotiations*, with any of our *Neighbouring Potentates*. Our *Answer* is, *Heaven forbid*, so *wild* a *Thought*, should ever find *Entrance* into our *Brains*; we know but of *one Place*, besides what we already have, on the *whole Continent of Europe*, which could be of *any Service* to us, and that is *Dunkirk*; which cannot fail, of proving a *great Thorn* in *our Sides*, whilst in the *Hands* of the *French*, in *Cafe of Rupture*; and even that, *our good Allies*, would never assist us to *reduce*; they would not, in all the late *glorious, and successful War*, though we were then continually adding, *not only Towns*, but *whole Provinces*, to *their Dominions*. Besides, we would fain ask, *what Weight* have the *German Territories*, under the *Government* of our *Sovereign*, given, at any *Time*, to *our Measures*?

We have found them, indeed, of *some Weight*, but then it has been to *our Disadvantage*; they have been of *sufficient Weight*, to *draw away* from us, *too frequently*, the *Persons* of our *Princes*; we hope not their *Affections*, nor *our Treasures*; tho' even that has been *often suggested*, but we are far from giving any *Credit* to it. Nay, it has been *pretty publickly insinuated*, by many, that they have been a *dead Weight* to us, on several *Occasions*,

fions, by preventing us, from exerting ourselves, for our own true Interest, whenever it has been thought incompatible, with that of those favourite *P-ss-ss-ns*; and drawing us into Measures, altogether inconsistent with our own *Welfare*. Some have even pretended, to account, by this means, for most of our Measures, of late Years; for which, otherwise, no tolerable *Reason* could be assigned. Accordingly, to this they ascribe the *Treaty of Hanover*, which threw us into the Arms of *France*, our natural *Enemy*, and *astonish'd* all *Mankind*; in order to reduce, the *exorbitant Power* of the *Emperor*, which say they, *gave Umbrage* to a certain *El—* or, and was therefore to be brought lower. To this, likewise, they ascribe, the memorable *Treaty of Seville*, which stipulated the Introduction, of *Spanish Troops* into *Tuscany*, and paved the Way for the *Revolution*, which happened soon after, and stript his *Imperial Majesty*, of all his *Possessions* in *Italy*. To this, also, they ascribe, our *continuing inactive*, though the *Emperor* was not only attack'd, at once, by *France*, *Spain*, and *Sardinia* in *Italy*, but in *Germany* also by the former, and reduced to the last Extremity.

Nay, they pretend to account, hereby, even for our present Conduct; and say, our engaging so heartily, at present, is owing to the *Resentment* of a *Visit*, made by *Maillebois* to a certain *El—te*; and the *Fear*, that another Prince of the *Empire*, may grow too powerful in his Turn, if the *Queen of Hungary* should be reduced too low. We are far, however, from giving Credit to any of these Suggestions: because it has ever been received, as an *undeniable Maxim* in *Politicks*, to which there has never, heretofore, been found an Exception, that when a smaller State is united to a greater, so as to come under the *Dominion*

minion of the same Prince, the smaller must of Course, become dependent upon the greater, as the latter must necessarily be the Seat of Empire : Whereas, should we believe these Insinuations, the *Influence of the lesser Dominions*, has always been *too strong* for that of the *greater*, and has occasion'd *such Alterations*, in the *Political System of Europe*, as could never have been foreseen, and would not have been believed, if prophesied.

However, be this as it will, and leaving these Matters to be decided by others, as being *above our Sphere*, thus much is certain ; that any Possessions on the Continent, must be *highly prejudicial to Great-Britain* ; as they would deprive us, of the *most considerable Benefits*, we enjoy, through our *happy Situation* ; which are, that no Power can *invade us*, but at an *infinite Disadvantage* ; and that we need not be *involved*, in *any of the Quarrels*, between our Neighbours on the Continent, *unless we please* ; and, even then, it need only be upon *our own Terms*. Any Possessions, therefore, on the main Land, which were not considerable enough to support themselves, in Case of being attack'd, either by their own Strength, or through the Means of *natural Allies*, who are *interested* in their Preservation, would be so far from *proving beneficial*, that they might, in Time, be *fatal to us*, by being *perpetual Drains* of our *Treasure* ; and drawing us into so many Disputes, on their Account, as might *cost us more*, than the Value of their whole Feesimple, might be able to defray.

Even **GIBRALTAR**, the only Place we have, or we hope, ever shall have, upon the Continent of *Europe*, would not be worth our keeping, were it not *impregnable* by Land, and *easily relieved*, in Case of a Siege, as long as we are *Masters of the Sea* : Nor would *Dunkirk* be

be worth our Acceptance, if offered us, but that it might be render'd so, on the Land-side, by laying the Country around it under Water, whenever we pleased; and might defy all Attacks by Sea, whilst we reign *Sovereigns* of the *Channel*, which, we flatter ourselves, will be, till Time is no more. The *former*, therefore, of these Fortresses, as it secures us, the *Command* of the *Streights*, that *important Inlet* into the *Mediterranean*, is of infinite Value; and might be render'd of *prodigious Service* to us, though we can't say, it has hitherto been of much, by a *prudent Conduct*; and the *latter*, had we been suffer'd to keep it, in the Condition it was then in, as we might have done, at the *Peace of Utrecht*, had we had an *honest Ministry*, by rendering us *absolute Masters*, of both *Sides* of the *Channel*, would have secured us, in a great Measure, from the *Depredations* and *Insults* of our *Enemies*, under *our very Noses*, if we may use that Expression; nor should we have heard, of so many *half French, half Spanish Privateers*, who have *lain in wait*, to *snap up* our *Merchant Men*, almost at *our own Doors*. **UNHAPPY BRITONS!** scarce ever to have *one Ministry*, who have *consulted* your *true Interest*!

It was generally expected, upon the Dismission of our late *State-Leviathan*, that we should have seen *better Times*; and that *more salutary Measures* would have been follow'd; but, by what Fatality it has been prevented, we know not, we have been *hitherto disappointed*; we are willing, however, still to hope, that Things will soon take a *more favourable Turn*, for these *unfortunate Kingdoms*; and that the *inauspicious*, and *baneful Planet*, or rather *CONSTELLATION*, which has lately been *predominant*, and shed its *malevolent Influences*, over the *British Counsels*, will be quickly *be*

inished our Horizon ; by the propitious Conjunction of *Saturn, Jupiter, and Mercury*, in a *Trine Aspect*, portending *Peace, Plenty, Content, and unclog'd Liberty*, (with a flourishing and extended *Commerce*, free from all *Restraints*, and *heavy Duties*,) to these once more happy Realms.

All these Blessings, great as they are, would be the necessary *Consequences* of wise *Measures* ; as the *very Reverse*, will always be the *Effect*, of *weak and imprudent Undertakings* : How maturely ought we, then, to weigh all our Steps, when *so prodigious* is the Difference, between a *well regulated Conduct*, and the *contrary* ! *Good Management*, and *Forecast*, is of as *much Consequence*, in *publick Affairs*, as in *private Life* ; and what should we say to a Man, who, being about to *engage* in *any Business*, did no. first sit down, and *consider*, whether *his Gains* were *likely*, to be *more* than *tantamount* to *his Losses*, and the *Expence* of carrying it on ? Should we not reckon him *very weak*, and *unadvised*; undoubtedly we should ! How much more, then, should we deem him so, who should *embark* in *any Affair*, wherein his *probable Gains*, were *not only highly unlikely*, ever to make a *near Compensation*, for *his Losses*, and the *Charge of Management*, but wherein the *least Miscalculation*, or *ill Success*, might *possibly* be attended, with the *most fatal Effects* ?

We have *more than human Authority*, to *justify* us, in *blaming* the *Conduct* of that Prince, who, *being able* to raise but an *Army* of *Ten Thousand Men*, should *think* of coping with another, who could bring *Twenty Thousand* against him : And were it not, that *few Statesmen*, trouble their Heads with the *Scripture*, we could wish those *Counsellors*, who *advised* us, to *engage* *so precipitately*, in the *present Land-War*, after we had *so long*

long continued quiet Spectators thereof, and suffer'd her Hungarian Majesty to be so greatly weaken'd, (which might have been prevented, by timely Assistance,) had first read Luke, xiv. 31, 32, and calmly weigh'd it. But, perhaps, it may be answer'd, there is no Similitude between our Case, at present, and that of the King there mentioned; that our Army is, at least, *equal*, if not *superior*, to that of our Enemies; and that we have already shewn, we are able to cope with them. Suppose we should grant this, what then! Supposing, instead of a *drawn Battle*, or a *Victory*, which the French still dispute with us, we had undeniably gained the better, and had kill'd them *Ten Thousand Men*, whilst we had lost but *half the Number*; would this have been *any great Matter of Triumph* to us? Are not our Enemies *able to support Ten such Defeats*? On the contrary, should not we be pretty much in the same Case, with the famous Pyrrhus, King of Epirus; who, after having gained an *indisputable Advantage* over the Romans, but at a *dear Rate*, and being complimented thereon, by his Officers and Courtiers, *very wisely answer'd*, *Such another Victory would UNDO me*.

In Effect, though we will not affirm, that we should not be able to *bear up*, under one or two *dear-bought Victories*, or even *as many Defeats*, yet we will venture to submit it, to the *serious Consideration*, of any thinking and impartial Person, whether, supposing this War were to be *equally successful*, with that in the *immortal, glorious, Queen Anne's Reign*, (which by the bye, is *highly improbable*) there is *any Likelihood*, a Nation, *already sinking*, under the *intolerable Load*, of *such heavy Taxes* as we pay, should be *able to support it*? Or whether the *Queen of Hungary's*, *already, impoverished*, and *almost depopulated Dominions*, and

her exhausted Finances, can be any great Assistance to us, should the War be protracted to any Length of Time? And, if we are neither able of ourselves, nor, with the Help of her Hungarian Majesty, to support the Burthen of a consuming Land-War, for any Continuance, we would beg our Country-men, seriously to consider, what we are about.

Perhaps, it will be answered, we shall be joined, likewise, by the Dutch, and it may be, by the King of Prussia: Supposing this were so, would this mend Matters mightily? We are afraid not. As to the States-General, it is well known, how unwilling they were to engage with us at all, if they can be said, to have engaged yet; which is to be doubted: And, as to his Prussian Majesty, we are apprehensive, his Friendship is of so *very late standing*, that it is as yet pretty much to be suspected. Besides, should we, for once grant, that they would now engage heartily, on our side, which is much to be questioned, especially of the Dutch; so greatly do they stand in Awe, of their too formidable Neighbours, the French; does not every one see, it would be only upon their own Terms; and how advantagious this would be to us, we leave every one to judge, who has but the least Knowledge, of that artful, politick, and self-interested People.

They call themselves a *Nation of Traders*, and not without good Reason; for such will every one find them, who has any Dealings with them. They treat, as a *State*, in the same Manner, as each Individual, does in his *private Capacity*; just so much for your Penny, and no more, will you get of Hans, behind his Counter; and just as much for your Penny, and no more, will you obtain of their *High Mightinesses*, when assembled in a Body: Accordingly,

Accordingly, we shall be sure, to have almost the *whole Burthen* of the War *thrown upon us*; whilst the *Dutch*, by the *Remittances*, which must pass through their *Hands*, and the great *Circulation* of *Money*, our *Army* will occasion, in the *Low-Countries*, will be *little or no Sufferers*. Nay, should *all Intercourse*, between us and the *French*, be *stopt*, as must be, in case we *become Principals* in the War, (which now seems *unavoidable*,) they may *possibly* be *Gainers* thereby; since we shall not be able to procure either *French Wines, Brandies, Brocades, Silks, or Cambricks*, those *Articles of Luxury*, we now have directly from *France*, (and from which our *Publick-spirited Nobility and Gentry*, will *not abstain*, though the *Safety or Ruin* of the Nation depended thereon) but, by the *Way of Holland*; as the *French*, on the other *Hand*, must be beholding to the *Dutch*, for all the *English Commodities* they want.

We have seen, then, that the *Accession* of the *Dutch*, to our *Measures*, will be of *very little Benefit* to us; and as for his *Prussian Majesty*, should he join his *Troops* to ours, it is *very certain*, he would expect a *considerable Subsidy*; and from whence, in the *Name of wonder*, is all the *Money* to come? Had we acted, indeed, as our *prudent Neighbours* did, and as every *wise Nation* would, during above *Twenty Years Peace*, that we *enjoy'd*, or at least, *might have enjoy'd*, had we so pleased; had we *improved*, we say, that *happy Opportunity*, after their *Example*, by *easing the Subject*, in *every possible Respect*; by *taking off* all the *most burthensome Taxes*; by *giving all Manner of Encouragement* to our *Manufactories*, and *American Colonies*; by *keeping up* no *useless Land Forces*, at *Home*, and *granting no unnecessary Subsidies*, for *foreign Troops abroad*; by *fitting out* no

peaceable Squadrons, for Raree-Shews, and Ridicule ; by retrenching all needless Expences, and paying off, as fast as possible, all the publick Debts ; especially such as were most grievous to the industrious Poor ; had we done all this, we say once again, we might probably, now, have been in a Condition, to have engaged in another *Ten Years Land War*, had it been absolutely necessary ; which can hardly ever be our Case, *Thanks to divine Providence* ! But, after a *Peace* ! such as we did enjoy ; a *Peace* ! with all the *Inconveniencies*, and none of the *Advantages*, of *War* ! a *Peace* ! wherein we paid, yearly, as much in *Taxes*, as during the War in Queen Anne's Reign, and sometimes more ! a *Peace* ! wherein we kept up a more numerous Army, and fitted out more formidable Fleets, than during that whole glorious *Period* ! and yet a *Peace* ! during which we suffered the most outragious *Insults* ! A *Peace* ! in short, whereof it be truly said,

*In Vain the HARRASS'D Britons hop'd for EASE,
Whilst growing Taxes were the Fruits of PEACE.*

After such a *Peace* ! we say, wherein we contrived at the *Reparation* of the Harbour of *Dunkirk* ; at our *Wool*'s being openly conveyed from us, and our *Men* enlisted into the *Service* of the *French*, for *Fear* of provoking them ; in short, a *Peace* ! during which we have suffered almost every *Branch* of our *Trade* to be lost, whilst scarce a *Penny* of our Debts, have been paid off, what *Probability* is there, of our bearing up under a tedious *Land-War* ? It would be mere *Madness* to think of it.

In Effect, we must commence a *War*, at present, at ten Times the *Disadvantage*, as formerly ; we are not only much weaker, but our *Enemies* much stronger, than in the Reigns of *King William*, or our late excellent *Queen*. At that Juncture, his

his present *Catholick Majesty*, *Philip V.* was but *just advanced to the Throne of Spain*; and there was a *powerful Party* in the Kingdom, who were *not very well satisfied* with his *Promotion*; but were disposed to *revolt*, as soon as they could be assured of being supported, which they accordingly did. But the *Case* is quite different now, when the *Spaniards* have been accustomed to his *Sway*, above *Forty Years*, and the *Crown* is *firmly settled* on his *Head*: Add to this, that the *his Subjects* having been *inured to War*, for a *long Term of Years*, there are now *several Thousands* of *hardy Veterans*, and *excellent Officers*, amongst them; whereas they were before, almost *as wretched Soldiers*, as the *Portuguese*.

Again, by the *late unfortunate Cession of Lorraine*, (which was, in a *great Measure*, owing to *our Supineness, and Indolence*,) *France* has acquired an *undoubted Right*, to that *fertile and rich Dutchy*; the *Possession* of which, by *Reason* of its *happy Situation*, is of *infinite Importance*: In *Effect*, it is not only a *considerable Addition*, in *point of Strength*, to the *French Crown*, as it can *raise* and *maintain 25,000 Men*; but as it *secures* their *Frontier*, on that *Side* where it was most *exposed*; and may be made, at the *same Time*, a *Key*, to let the *Armies of France* into the *Empire*, when they please; and before the *Germans* can have any *Notice* of their *Design*, or put themselves in a *Posture of Defence*. By the *Accession*, therefore, of this *Dutchy*, it is evident, that *France* is *much more powerful*, than at the *Beginning* of the *late War*; and if she was, then, able to support a *constant Series of ill-Success*, and so many *signal Defeats*, for *Ten Years*, what may she not now do? Yet again, the *French*, at that *Time*, had *little or no Trade*; and consequently were *less able to bear*

such terrible Overthrows, and the heavy Taxes, their Prince was thereby necessitated, to lay upon them: Whereas they have now a very flourishing, and extended Commerce, insomuch, that they have, in a great Measure, supplanted us in divers of the most beneficial Branches thereof, particularly in our Trade to Spain, Turkey, and the Levant.

But, to add our Misfortune, the French are not only much stronger, than they were at the beginning of the late War, but we are much weaker, in several Respects; we were not only heartily assisted then, by the Emperor, the Dutch, and the Duke of Savoy, but by Denmark, and the several Princes of the Empire, as Prussia, Saxony, Hanover, &c. And, which was no inconsiderable Advantage, our Armies were then headed by a Marlborough, and an Eugene, that is, Two of the greatest Generals the World ever produced. Besides, our Trade was then in a very prosperous Condition, and we had no Rivals of any Consequence therein; so that it was a continual Source of Riches to us, and enabled us to support many heavy Taxes; and to crown all, our Debts were then but very trifling.

Whilst we were in this happy State, neither overburthen'd with Debts, nor grievous Taxes, the inseparable Consequences thereof, it was no wonder, if we did venture to engage in a Land-War; especially, when it was not only to prevent all Europe's being over-run by France, but to oppose the Imposition of a bigotted Tyrant upon us; and revenge a most unpardonable Affront, to the late Queen, by proclaiming the Pretender, rightful Sovereign of these Kingdoms, in direct Violation of the Treaty of Ryswick. These, it must be owned, by all, were notorious Provocations, and very urgent Reasons, for exerting our selves in an extraordinary Manner; and yet, every one knows, when that

that War was spun out to a great *Length*, how *beartily weary* the Nation grew of it, and what *Clamours* it occasioned ; notwithstanding the *Glory* we were every *Day* acquiring, (a *Thing* highly agreeable to the *British* Nation) and the *unparalleld*, and *uninterrupted*, *Success* that attended our *Arms*.

In Effect, what did *Great Britain* gain, by that *Profusion* of *Blood* and *Treasure*, so *prodigally lavish'd* in that War ? Are *Gibraltar*, and *Port-Mahon*, an *Equivalent*, for the *Thousands* of brave *Men*, who lost their *Lives*, and above a *Hundred Millions* of *Money* expended therein ? Don't we *still groan*, under the *intolerable Pressure*, of the *Debts* contracted on that *Occasion* ? And are we now *entering upon Measures*, which *must probably* *cost us as much more* ? Must not the *Consequence* be *inevitable Ruin* ? And, after we are *well drained* of our *Men* and *Money*, and the *little Trade* we have left is *entirely lost*, (as it must be in all *Likelyhood*,) must we not, of *Course*, *fall an easy Prey* to the *first Invader* ? Such is the *melancholy Scene* we have now before us.

Our *gracious Sovereign*, who has been *made* *constantly to believe*, that we are a *very rich*, and *flourishing People*, that *Great Britain* is an *inexhaustible Mine of Wealth* ; and that *all Opposition* to his *Measures*, (as all the *most pernicious ministerial Schemes*, have been *modestly called*,) proceeded *solely* from our *enjoying too much Liberty*, and *Plenty*, is not apprized, of the *wretched Condition*, of his *faithful Subjects* ; but, in all *probability*, *imagines* us, to be *naturally a turbulent, dissatisfied, and even seditious Nation*. Nor is this any *Wonder*, if we *consider*, for how many *Years*, he was suffered to *see only through the Eyes*, and to *hear only through the Ears*, of *ONE*, who was, *demonstrably*,

trably, in an *open Conspiracy*, against the *Liberties* and *Prosperity* of his Country. When we consider this, we say, and at the same Time, *reflect*, that even the *most destructive* of his Measures, the *Excise Scheme*, if common Report may be credited, was represented to his Majesty, as a *most salutary* and *beneficial Project*, calculated purely to prevent the *most notorious Frauds*, and *improve the public Revenue*; and that it was *render'd abortive*, only by a *Combination of STURDY BEGGARS*, grown *wanton*, through *too much Affluence*; wanting to be *humbled*; And supported by a *disaffected Party*, in *both Houses*; where is the wonder, if our Prince, who judges of others, by his own *noble* and *generous Soul*, should be *prepossessed* with *Notions*, *not much to our Advantage*; and should think, we are well *able*, to bear the *Expence* and *Burthen*, of the *present Land-War*?

But, were he made *truly* acquainted, with the *real State* of these unhappy Kingdoms; that they are so far, from being *capable* of *Struggling* with any *fresh Load*, that they are already *just sinking*, under the *Weight* of their *present heavy Taxes*; and that the *least additional Pressure* must *infallibly* put the *finishing Stroke* to *their Ruin*; that a *Land-War*, is of all Measures, the *most likely to compleat our Destruction*; as it must necessarily *impoverish*, and *infeeble us* the *most*, by being a *continual Drain*, both of *our Treasure*, and *most able bodied men*; whereas, in a *Sea-War*, much the *greatest Part*, of the *Provision*, and all the *Warlike Stores*, are taken in *at Home*, or sent after the *Fleet* in *Tenders*; and the *Ships* being constantly *paid off*, in *our own Ports*, the *Money* is *always expended amongst ourselves*, which creates a *quick Circulation*, and *brisk inland Trade*; Two *Circumstances* *highly worthy* the *Consideration* of an *almost exhausted*

bausted People: Add to this, that in the *most* bloody and *unfortunate Sea-War*, we ever engaged in, the *yearly Loss* of *Sailors*, was never *near equal* to *that of Soldiers*, in any one of the Campaigns, under King *William*, the Duke of *Marlborough*, or in *Spain*; on the contrary, that generally speaking, it never required *half the Number* of *Sea-men*, to recruit the *Navy*, as it did of *Land-men*, to *repair the Losses* of the *Army*:

Were his Majesty, we say, made *fully sensible*, of this our *wretched Condition*, and of all these *Disadvantages* of a *Land-War*; as also, of the *great Advantage*, our *Superiority*, by *Sea*, gives us over our *Enemies*: We are well assured, he is a Prince of so much *Humanity* and *Prudence*, as likewise so *tenderly concerned* for the *Welfare of his People*, he would never engage us in a *Step*, which must necessarily prove so *fatal* to us, should the *War* be protracted to any *Length*. In *Effect*, though, we are aware, this *Position* will be thought *very odd*, by most *Folks*, we will venture to affirm, that it is neither the *true Interest* of his Majesty himself, nor of his *German Dominions*, to involve *Great Britain*, in a *consuming Land-War*; on the contrary, that even the *Safety* of the former, is now dependant, in some *Measure*, upon the *Welfare* of the latter; or, in other *Words*, that the *Ruin* of *these Kingdoms*, must *necessarily*, and *inevitably*, draw after them, the *Ruin* of the *Electorate of Hanover*, with all the *Territories annex'd thereto*.

To make this plain, we shall only observe, what has been advanced before, that so much *exhausted*, as we are already, by the *Decay* of our *Trade*, our numerous and heavy *Taxes* and *Debts*, it will be *impossible* for us, *long to support*, a *War* upon the *Continent*, without *sinking under the Weight*

Weight of it: That, on the contrary, our Enemies, having taken Advantage of the long *Peace* they enjoy'd, to pay off most Part of their *Debts*, and give all *Manner of Encouragement to Trade*, in all its *Branches*, by easing the *Manufacturer* of the most burthensome *Taxes*, and not only *discouraging*, but even *prohibiting* the *Wear* of all foreign *Merchandize*, (in which Piece of *sound policy*, and *public Spirit*, we have always been *too wise* to follow their Example) are *better able*, now to *support*, another *Ten Years War*, than they were in the Reign of *Lewis XIV*; even though it should prove as *unsuccessful*, as that, in the time of their late *Grand Monarque*; which is *altogether unlikely*. Let us suppose, then, for once, that our *Armies* will be *bless'd*, with as *uninterrupted Success*, as in the the late Queen's Reign, though that is highly improbable; the *infallible Consequence* of that would be, that we should *at last sink under our own Efforts*, and be forced to *clap up a Peace at any Rate*; for, such *prodigious Sums of Money*, must be *sent yearly out of the Kingdom*, to *pay our Forces*, whilst, the *little Trade*, we have yet left, would be then *entirely lost*, as it certainly must, that the *Ballance* would be *greatly against us*; and we should be so far, from *recruiting ourselves* thereby, that other considerable *Remittances*, must be *made abroad*, to *pay the Overplus*; so that these *Two continual Drains* of our *Treasure*, would, in a few Years, *exhaust us of all our Specie*; which rendering us *utterly unable*, to carry on even a *defensive War*, must leave us an *easy Prey*, to the *first Invader*. And, as we are sensible, our *good Neighbours*, whom we have been, so long, *wisely contributing to aggrandize*, don't want the *Inclination*, if they *had but the Power*, we must soon become a *Province* to them. This, we say, is the

the evident Consequence, of our persisting, in the Prosecution of a *Land-War*; and, should this ever be our melancholy Case, which Heaven forbid, we leave any one to judge, whether the Electorate of *Hanover*, must not follow of Course; especially, as, it is no Secret, that our *Enemies*, ascribe the carrying the *War*, into the *French Dominions*, to the sole Influence, and Direction, of our most gracious Sovereign.

F I N I S.



